

THE
MORAL REFORMER.

No. 3

MARCH 1, 1832.

Vol. II.

IRELAND.

IMPORTANT as it is to superintend the affairs of our own allotment, we may occasionally be allowed to ramble into the territories of others, especially if we can so far benefit by the excursion as to be additionally useful to both. A confined sphere of observation and experience, contracts the mind, localizes the feelings, and is a constant source of ignorance and bigotry. By an enlarged association we correct our errors, we become confirmed in that which is right, and by a knowledge of the world, receive a fresh impulse in disseminating the principles of social happiness. IRELAND is our next neighbour, and is appropriately called the "sister island;" and though her history is any thing but inviting, yet her poverty, misery, and commotions, render her incessantly an object of attention. Curious to know the state of this country, and to have an opportunity of personally examining her social system, I went over about three years ago, and spent nearly a fortnight in Dublin and the Neighbourhood. Though I did not travel a great distance from the city, I took every opportunity of acquainting myself with what was passing among this interesting people. Every day was spent in active exercise, and every evening brought me to my lodging much fatigued. I lodged at Home's Hotel, an establishment superior in extent and arrangements to any I ever met with; it contained above a hundred bed-rooms, and the most eligible accommodations for visitors. Any person could have a bed here and be made welcome, without feeling any obligation to purchase liquors to remunerate the host; such were the arrangements, that eating, drinking, and sleeping were independent of each other, and paid for separately; and such was the support that this place was then receiving, that if it continue to be conducted on the same principle, I have no doubt but the proprietor will soon realize a fortune.

The prejudice with which I set out from home was, that I was going among a people next akin to barbarians, amongst whom *life* itself was constantly in jeopardy; and I was cautioned by my friends, above every

thing, not to be out late at nights, lest I should be murdered. But on this point, I confess, I was much mistaken, and from the moment I set my foot on Irish ground I saw my delusion. And though Dublin and the Neighbourhood may not afford a fair specimen of the character of the people in some parts of the country, I am still inclined to attribute most of the cruelties said to be committed, to the unjust provocation of their enemies. Though cruel in revenge, the Irish are certainly not forward to *give* offence. No kinder people exist, if kindness is shewn to them, and yet none more determined to resent an injury and to resist the authority of the oppressor; and this accounts for the excesses which sometimes take place in reference to the collection of tythes and other impositions. But it is to the English Newspapers, principally, that we are indebted for the impressions we have received of the character of the Irish Nation. In them we have regularly an article headed "IRELAND;" and every instance of outrage, collected from the Irish Papers with the exaggerated comments of the Editors, is carefully detailed, and thus published together, and sent forth without a single redeeming statement, a decidedly false impression is produced upon the minds of the English. Indeed, so magnifying are the powers of the "broad sheet," that events which have scarcely a reality in the minds of competent judges, are not unfrequently ushered forth as of awful importance. If the enormities committed in this country were carefully reported and placed in one focus under the head of "ENGLAND," in my opinion Ireland would lose nothing by the comparison. It is when exasperated that the Irish are cruel, but when fairly treated, civility and kindness are distinguishing traits in their characters. My apprehensions, in this respect, were soon removed, and I durst venture to perambulate the streets of Dublin at any hour of the night with less fear than I durst those of any of our large towns in Lancashire. We have certainly not so good a sample in many of those of the lower class who come over to this country, but *these* are not a *fair* specimen. We know that the worst characters have the greatest need to change their residences, and that a great proportion of those who migrate from any country are of this class. Though my companion and I mixed with all sorts of company, and visited every sort of place, from the dark and dirty cellar to the Castle of His Excellency the Marquis of Anglesea, we uniformly met with the kindest treatment. Before we landed at Kingstown we fell into company with an Irish passenger, belonging to the Society of Friends; he gave us a kind invitation to his house where we were entertained in the most hospitable manner, and would not leave us till he saw both us and our luggage safe at the Inn. Some days after, passing up a certain street, a respectable shop-

keeper ran after us, brought us into his dining-room, and made us welcome to the best in his house, merely from the circumstance that he had noticed us in the company as he came over in the vessel.

As to *civility* and *good manners*, the people of this country are far behind. I will venture to affirm that if any person were to traverse the streets of Dublin for a week, he would not meet with a tythe of the insults that he would be exposed to in passing, during dinner hour, along a single street in many parts of our large manufacturing towns. The difference was so great, that I frequently made this remark to my friend. If you speak to any individual, or to a group of persons whom you meet, you get a civil, courteous, and direct reply; and if you were to pass silently by a hundred times in a day, you would not be accosted with those gratuitous remarks and taunts which in this country are a disgrace to those who boast so superior an education. Freed from the phlegmatism of John Bull's children, if you want an answer, you never need ask an Irishman twice; and if you want him to do you a service, he not only starts immediately, but in the slippancy of his feelings, almost engages beyond what he can perform. He never stays to bargain beforehand, he falls to his work, and trusts to your generosity and his own importunity for a fair return. They are the most willing people I ever met with, and have learned by habit the useful lesson, that "*civility of manners may be acquired without cost.*"

The houses in Dublin are generally well-built, and the main streets wide and in good repair. This city abounds with public buildings upon a magnificent scale; and many of the areas are graced with monuments and statues of a majestic cast. That of Nelson, Wellington, Geo. II, Geo. III, and King William, are very conspicuous, and though these upon a people tainted with superstition, might have a fascinating effect in favor of the country by which they are ruled; yet under present circumstances, they appear to have just as much influence in producing *loyalty* as the expensive architectural grandeur of our New Churches has in the production of *piety*. To attempt to describe the magnificence of the various fine buildings which meet the eye of the stranger at every turn, would be impossible, and altogether beyond my design. We visited the Castle, the Barracks, the Bank, where the Irish Parliament formerly met, the College, the Four Courts, the Exchange, the Blind Institution, the House of Industry, the Lying-in and the Old Man's Institution, the Botanic Gardens, the Deaf and Dumb School, the Kildare School, the Mendicity Institution, St. Patrick's and Christ Church, and several Catholic and Dissenting places of worship, besides many other places, the names of which I now forget.

But a stranger, merely from the mention of these places, can have no idea of the immense extent of the buildings connected with most of them. The College, including lecture-room, hall, museum, the anatomical department, &c., is more like a village than a single Institution. In this latter department are a set of casts that cost £40,000, and a single marble statue that cost £10,000. While I have these buildings in recollection, in connection with the condition of the Irish poor, and the miserable dungeon-like huts spread all over the country, I cannot help making two remarks—the first, that where Parliamentary Grants are awarded for the support of Institutions, and entrusted, as they usually are, to injudicious hands, the *sums expended bear no proportion to the good* either attempted or effected. We see much of this in England, but it is in Ireland, principally, that the unproductiveness of the annual Parliamentary Grants are clearly seen. My second remark is, we have here a decided proof of the general effect upon society of attempting to meet its wants, and to improve its character, by public Institutions and charitable Societies. Instead of *teaching the people to manage for themselves*, and *securing* to them, by equitable laws, the *necessary means* of doing so, we are now trying to do every thing for them, to remove all their ills, first by one new society and then by another; and in proportion as we go on in this course shall we approximate nearer and nearer to the condition of the Irish. As to moral and religious influence, while we are so infatuated as to pay large salaries, for inefficient men, who, either from incapacity or want of disposition, are sleeping at their posts, we have by the establishment of these societies, been long attempting to do the work for them. If ever the so-much-boasted-of Public Charities could have brought society into a prosperous state, Dublin, not to mention many parts of this country, would long since have been in the happiest condition. But if we take a right view of the matter, what the well-disposed and benevolent part of the people has to do for the other, is this—not to erect large establishments, to appoint committees, and to drain the money of the public, and to expend it in the maintenance of these unavailing and unnatural concerns,—but to secure to the people in the first place, a fair share in the productive wealth of the country, and in the next place, to bring *every family* under the influence of *correct teaching*, that they may feel their own importance, manage their own resources, meet their own wants, and be induced to diffuse among their children and dependants the principles of morality and true piety, the true basis of all real happiness. *We must come to this*; and we now begin to see that while schools and societies have been multiplying upon us, poverty and misery, depravity and crime, continue to increase. Though we may be pleased with the

active spirit, which is abroad to benefit the people, we ought not to be satisfied with the *mode* of its operation.—The contrast of the buildings betwixt those of the poor and the rich in Dublin, is like the contrast in their personal appearance; for while we were called upon to gaze at extensive mansions, anon we were mortified to see human families crammed in places the most miserable and wretched.

The cleanliness, neatness, and order of the city, however, fall far short of the magnificence of the buildings. The streets are neither clean nor orderly, and the fronts of all the houses have a dull and dirty appearance; the dirt on the windows is rarely disturbed, and the accumulation of mire on the steps, in many places was such, that it was either peeling off in cakes by the heat of the sun, or affording support to the moss, which in several places was very luxuriant. So dirty were some windows, that it is a fact, that gentlemen's servants, who were wishful to see what was passing, had actually to open the windows to have a fair view; and in the whole city, with the exception, I believe, of one instance, where either an English or a Scotch family resided, I did not find the steps belonging to the best built houses either washed or whitened. I need not say that the effluvia, in hot weather, arising from such streets was any thing but agreeable. The insides of many places agreed with their external appearance; and though allowances may be made for those who inhabit the densely populated parts of the city, yet want of attention to cleanliness seemed to be general. The servants flirt about, and are excessively obliging, but they want the system and penetration of the Scotch, and the intense and persevering application of the English—the consequence is that the pots, tables, glasses, carpets, and furniture, generally, are not in that clean and orderly state that we find them in this country. The buildings are generally high, and in the poor parts of the city one house will be occupied by eight or ten families, one over another; the rents of the cellars, with a floor as black as a turf moss, frequently with no window, and in some instances with no chimney, in the streets noted for trade, are rated from three to four shillings and eightpence a week. Their wet clothes they hang out to dry and bleach, from room window to room window across the streets, and as for a *back convenience* it were almost in vain to enquire for such a place. This is the state in which they have been bred and matured, and though disgusting to a stranger, they seem perfectly at home in it. The poorer class of females go bare leg and many barefoot, and though they wear no bonnets, almost the youngest must have a muslin cap. Cloaks for women, and top coats for the men, are worn, without any respect to seasons, and these being often so miserably ragged, add much to the appearance of their

wretchedness. Groups of women are seen sitting on the pavement, and it is not unusual to see the mistress of a shop sitting on the steps. Many of the poor, especially the aged, are very filthy, indications of which meet you as you pass. Extreme poverty having been so long the fixed lot of this people, their rich brethren seem little affected at their condition, or even demeaned by the connexion. Every menial seems poor and wretched, and when to these are added the vast number of vagrants that throng the streets, we may account for that unconcern manifested by the ladies and gentlemen who are approached and attended upon, by men whose appearance would be considered disgusting in England. I have seen ladies decked with all that fashion could display, driven up and down in cars by dirty fellows, whose ragged top coats, afforded famous sport for the mind, with as much glee as if attended by a livery servant. The hackney coaches, and janting cars, of which there are hundreds rattling in the streets, are generally under the direction of such. I saw O'Connel riding from the Exchange one day under the guidance of a hearty fellow of this stamp, whose whip consisted of a rude hedge stick, and a piece of an old rope with a brushy end. If the pride of attendance were what it is in this country, a considerable change would take place in the appearance of the lower classes of the Irish; but I am not sure whether the rich do not pride themselves in the *contrast*; at any rate they take no pains in assimilating the difference.

But what is remarkable, amidst poverty and rags, the people always seem cheerful, and comparatively contented; they can always pass a joke, and are capable of being excited to merriment by the most trivial circumstance. Sport and mirth seem indigenous to Ireland; and whether from the climate, or the influence of association, I cannot tell, but I never spent a fortnight in all my life so free from care as I did this. Every company seems lively; the language and the looks of those who were even crawling on the ground indicated a vivacity of spirit. The morose, sullen disposition has no place here, whilst gaiety and mirth, are, perhaps, in several instances, carried to an extreme. Though the poverty of the people, in my estimation was extreme, and though it is often forced upon the observation of strangers, from the prevalency of begging, yet I believe there is really less *repining* than in England; and many, apparently, without home or employment, with a few potatoes twice a day, seem quite contented. They have no losses to mourn, no possessions to care for, and no prospects to excite either hope or fear; and therefore their pleasures, though little more than animal, are unbroken by the anxious cares too often connected with wealth. Every season has its sports, not excepting the burial

of the dead and other religious solemnities. I attended the interment of a person, in a parcel of ground at the outside of the town, allotted to the free use of the poor. It is situated on an elevation, and I was told that at this place the most ludicrous strife takes place, if two funerals should happen to be together, as to which can catch the entrance first; the bearers of the corpses literally run races for some supposed advantage, reported to them by tradition. The ground was in the most disorderly state, and the bearers threw down the coffin without any regard to the propriety of its position. The grave was then to make; two men in their top coats, and others by turns, set to work with spades, the handles of which were about five feet long, but before they had dug deep their tools came in contact with the coffins and remains of those previously interred, which they scattered abroad without ceremony. In the meantime some of the attendants were kneeling on the ground praying, some vociferating, and others making an amusement of fetching bones and throwing them at each other, or slipping them slyly into the pockets of the spectators. Indeed, the weeping and laughing, the shouting and praying, the familiarity with the remains of the dead, and the general confusion, so contrary to that decorum and quietness which we are accustomed to here on these occasions, were such that I left the place with disgust. I dined one day in an Irish cabin, near the water-falls in the county of Wicklow, and visited and examined several others, in which every one seemed to reflect the picture of misery. I observed potatoes boiled ready, and the children when hungry went and took one as they needed. I assure my readers, that when we sent for some *bread* for dinner, it seemed to be considered by the family where we stayed as a very great luxury, and I should suppose it is an article they never taste for months together. In this excursion we passed through the village of Bray, and also the noted Donabrook, where a tumultuous fair is sometimes held. Poverty seemed written on the front of almost every cabin, but they seemed good humoured, hearty, and cheerful; and to use the expression of a woman whose mother was drunk across the parapet, "void of all care." It is true, that when in the act of begging (and there are numbers who follow no other occupation,) they tell sorry tales, but a small donation, instantly removes the gloom, and procures for the stranger a thousand blessings. "I'll give you my blessing when I meet you at St. John's well," said an aged dame in acknowledgment for a halfpenny; while, "the Lord prosper you across the sea, bring you safe to your family, and may they never want," was the parting benediction of one of the mendicants at Kingstown as I returned home. Their volubility and facility of expression is

remarkable, and this, connected with their importunity, procures them many favours from strangers. Many of the poor never trouble themselves about what is to come; indeed the past and the future are alike matters of indifference to them; they literally "take no thought for the morrow." Hence their arrangements are grounded upon this principle; if an Irishman want his coat mending he can have it begun, of at a moment's notice, for there are lots of stalls attended by women, whose trade consists in buying and selling old patches, and fixing them on the garments of their customers. If his shoe want stitching, there are plenty of cobblers seated in the street, ready for any job that may come to hand. Instead of a week or a fortnight's wash, as is common with us, the Irish wives have washing mugs always ready; they wash their clothes, as they cook their meals, that is, just when they are wanted. It is this disposition, doubtless, that in many cases makes them happy in the midst of their poverty.

If I were undertaking to disclose their moral qualities, I should place *generosity* among the *first* of their virtues, and *lying* among their leading vices. I am sorry to say that I met with many, who told me lies with as much confidence, and without the least faltering of voice, as if they had been telling the most solemn truths. This was a cause of much regret, not only because of the sinfulness of the habit, but because we were afraid of relying upon the statements we received, perhaps when the truth *was* told. But some might consider this, at least in some instances, more as an inadvertency than a design to deceive; and where a person, like the Irish, answers in a moment, every question that is put to him, he is fortunate indeed if he always hit upon the truth. The vice of drunkenness, ten times worse in its effects than the *cholera morbus*, prevails extensively. The rich, by which may be understood, not merely persons of great property, but also the tradesmen, and professional gentlemen, generally dine at five o'clock, and spend the evening in social mirth over the wine and punch; the poor delight in their drams, and part with their money more cheerfully for whiskey than for any other article. Whatever engagement you make, upon closing the bargain, a claim is always put in for a drop of the "dear crater." Animation is natural to this people, and any thing that affords a stimulus is eagerly sought after. Mental culture being neglected, we find most of the people, just as they are in England, mere *animals* in all their pursuits. Complaining, as we do, justly, against the extravagances of government, and excessive taxation, I assert, that *all put together* does not drain as much from the resources of the country, as does directly and indirectly, the *unnecessary* consumption of ale, wine, and ardent spirits! As all other taxes have distinct appellations, by way of pre-

eminence, I think this ought to be called "*the Devil's tax!*" Fallow is the ground, indeed, in Ireland, which the temperance principle is now attempting to break up; may its redeeming energy soon be visible, in those streets and lanes and corners where I have seen numbers, especially women, disgustingly drunk!

As to religious attainments, if we were to judge from the number and costliness of the places of worship, we should conclude that these people were all saints; but the reality and the appearance, as is the case in most other places, are much at variance. In the country I saw churches in every direction, and what I particularly noticed was, that most of them had *new spires*; I did not enquire the reason, but my conjecture was, that, as they are so little visited for regular purposes, the friends of the Establishment had caused these to be erected, that *sense* might be an assistant to faith, and that these holy places might not entirely be forgotten. One week-day I attended vine service at the Cathedral Church in Dublin, and was vain enough, (though not during service) to seat myself on the Bishop's throne. During service I found no difficulty in obtaining a seat, for the congregation consisted of minister, clerk, four boys who constituted the choir, and six hearers, making altogether twelve souls! Here they were in the midst of a city consisting of 176,000 souls, and surrounded with streets in every one of which drunkenness and profanity abound, reading over the million-times-repeated prayers, for the sake of securing the emoluments connected with the service. Is this the way, I would ask, to make men religious? Is this the way to check vice, to conquer sin, and to lead the wandering sinner back to God? Oh! stupid nation! to be gulled as we are with the shadows instead of the substance, to cover the abominable impositions which are practised upon us! When shall we begin to think for ourselves, and instead of deferring to antiquated systems, be determined no longer to support that which, by the effects it has produced, evidently belies all its pretensions. I also visited several Dissenting places of worship; the attendance was rather slender, and from enquiries, I should suppose, these societies were not making much progress. I observed that the practice in Dublin is to collect every Sunday for sitting money, and the sum usually paid appeared to be a halfpenny. Amongst the various religious devices for getting money I noticed on a bill, "a collection by the ladies;" and really when "the beautiful and accomplished" of some noble stock goes round with the plate, who can resist? How anxious are the priests in these days of sterility and bareness, to water the tree of life with the silvery streams of pious benevolence, and how innocent and useful it must be to allow a little "pious fraud," for so holy a purpose! On Sunday Morning I attended a

Catholic Chapel, which was so crowded that some were kneeling outside the door. Their usual ceremonies were performed, and several admonitions delivered from the parable of the prodigal son. The money plates, as usual, were presented at the door. The main part of Ireland's religion, like that in our country, is the religion of *creeds* and *ceremonies*, and hence so little of that *practical* goodness, that every-day and every-place *conformity to the precepts of the gospel*, which alone is worth the name of religion.

Desirous of observing the operations of some of those Institutions, which have been successively established to remedy the evils of the country, I attended several times at a large building in Upper Sackville-street, where most of the offices of these societies are kept. The places are expensively fit up, and are managed by individuals who seem to make a good thing of it. The secretaries come in a forenoon about ten o'clock, and from that to four constitutes their day. If many of the poor contributors were to go over and see those places, and observe the manner in which their money is expended, they would have a ready answer for the agents who are sent up and down the country begging, and lamenting the "want of funds." I attended one day at the anniversary of one of these societies, called the "Military Bible Society." The number of *men* at the commencement, was 29, and at one time amounted to 40; but there was a great number of well-dressed females. This assembly reminded me of what I have often remarked to myself when attending "anniversaries," that instead of attending for the purpose of investigating what *has taken place*, and receiving additional energy for *future action*, most individuals merely attend to *hear the speeches*; and they view the occasion for the most part as a public *exhibition of talent*. The report which was read, complained of the want of support, and all the speakers, about eight in number, who seemed to consider it requisite to make a pretty long speech, adopted the same strain. Most of the speakers, as if they had been hired for the occasion, left the place as soon as they had finished their barangue; this, for aught I know, may be the fashion in Ireland. The following *cash account*, which I copied from the report as it lay on the table, will shew with what consistency they could urge the audience to increased liberality: it really appeared to me a mere *job*.

Dr.		£.	s.	d.	Cr.		£.	s.	d.
Total Income for the last two years	}	241	16	11	By Stationary, &c.	18	6	1	
					— Rent and Incidentals.....	49	0	3	
					— Package, Carriage, &c.....	3	2	9	
					— Salaries.....	90	0	0	
					— Collectors, per centage.....	9	10	4	
					— Remitted Parent Society....	50	0	0	
					— Balance on hand.....	21	17	6	
		£241 16 11					£241 16 11		

The total number of copies of the scriptures distributed was 289, this and the management of £241 : 16 : 11, cost the very moderate sum of £169 : 19 : 6 !!!—But keeping out of view so gross a mismanagement of public money, does it not appear, while the people remain, in both kingdoms, after all the sums which have been expended, in a state of ignorance, poverty, and crime, that the course adopted has been a mistaken one? It is not the flaming reports of societies, it is not the imposing grandeur or number of temples made with hands; it is not even the attendance upon religious services, which form a true criterion of character; and those who look beneath the surface of things, who understand the essentials of human improvement, can never feel satisfied with the appearance instead of the reality. It is *personal* and *practical* religion they look for; it is "gentleness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance, and such like" dispositions and practices that are wanted to make the people really happy. Until religion is seen at *home*, in the *world*, in *business*, and in the *social circle*, by a correct deportment, I pass over the substitute of formality as of little or no value. The best Institution, in my opinion, of which Dublin could boast, was the Mendicity Institution. Its object was to prevent common begging, to teach the young the useful arts of life: to relieve the able-bodied, through the medium of *employment*, and to afford seasonable assistance to the aged, infirm, and all distressed objects. The number relieved when I was there, was 1800; in preparing food for whom four tons of potatoes were used daily. These were boiled up with the broken meat which was daily collected from the different inns and other houses throughout the city, and with onions and seasoning made a good article of food. The poor were served at nine o'clock and at two every day. Employment of various sorts was provided for those who were able to work. But this Institution also, I noticed in the papers some months ago, was upon the point of closing its labours. And short as has been my life, I could cover some pages merely with the names of societies, and Institutions, local and general, literary, religious, and political, all professing the *advancement of society* as their object, which have been begun with apparent prosperity, but which have either become defunct or are now reduced to a mere form. For myself I begin to get tired of them, for though they often incorporate men of the best dispositions, it appears to me, that without a greater number of this class, they cannot continue long in operation; and that if there were a greater number, a *more eligible mode of action* might be pointed out.

This being the time when the discussion of the Catholic Relief Bill was at its height, I attended one of the meetings at the Exchange. Lawless, Shield, and O'Connel were the principle speakers. The vivacity of the Irish Orators bid defiance to formal rules, and with a laudable object in

view, they are seldom pertinacious of little matters of order. These leaders seemed to have great influence over their auditory, and well capable of arousing their passions. The rent came in liberally, and the meeting concluded by loud huzzas for Old Ireland. But though this association made a great noise both in the English and Irish papers, I remarked that a very great part of the tradesmen and respectable part of the inhabitants paid little or no attention to the subject; and these meetings in the Exchange excited far more attention in England than they did in any of the streets immediately adjoining. Important as was the Catholic question, a far more important one in a *practical* view is now before the people of Ireland. The *abolition of tythes*, and the *abandonment* of a long, fruitless, vexatious, and expensive attempt to *compel the people to become church folks*, are measures, if successful, which will surpass in their beneficial tendency, any measures adopted since the Union.

While a stranger cannot but notice the poverty and sloth of the poor people, yet when he considers the *extremes* to which the classes are reduced, and that there is no respectable middle class, as in this country, his surprise will not be great. The tendency of great riches and great poverty, unless counteracted by a *medium* influence, is to produce poverty and vassalage, and when society verges to this state, it is approaching the bane of social happiness. "Neither poverty nor riches," was the prayer of Agar, and experience is sufficient to prove this to be the best state. Bad laws and a bad moral feeling are the causes of the opposite, and it ought to be the endeavour of every legislature, and every philanthropist, to prevent this state as much as possible. The Jews had a law by which every family came to the possession of that portion of land originally allotted to it every fiftieth year; but while we are under laws of a contrary tendency, and while no likely means are adopted to bring the poor and the rich to a middle path, aristocratic wealth and mendicant misery will still continue to spring up together. Oh! that the land owners of this interesting country would but consider the condition of the thousands of miserable beings, who are made by the same hand, children of the same soil, passing through the same world, and destined to stand before the same Judge! Oh! proud mortal! do I often say to myself, when I see a worm spurning a fellow worm, because he happens to have a worse coat and empty pockets, whilst in *mind*, the seat of all that is glorious and divine, he is far superior—think, that however thou mayest deceive thyself here, verily there is a God who will judge impartially, and render to thee and to every one according to his works.

I have said so much, historically, and interspersed it with so many reflections, that were I able, I have no opportunity now of doing more than

hinting at that all-important question "what must be done for Ireland?" Its real happiness depends upon its *moral* advancement; and as this must be gradual, we ought not to be sanguine as to any immediate change in the general habits of the people. But much may be done politically, and for changes of this character, they are well prepared. The cry for poor laws in Ireland, in my opinion is the offspring of a short-sighted, temporising policy. Instead of *providing* for poverty, why not try rather to *prevent* it; instead of providing *conveniences* for this demon of wretchedness, let us do all we can to *expel* him. Remove every just cause of discontent, restore quietness to the country, and make it a *safe abode for capital*; this connected with moral culture, will do much towards meliorating the condition of the people. Let government grants, and the proceeds of all property under its controul, be spent upon inclosing and improving the land, which will not only find employment in the first place, but continue every year to be a constant source of labour. When I think of the universal cry for *labour*; of the millions of acres which might be cultivated or planted; and at the same time of the millions of money sunk in raising massive buildings in every part of Great Britain and Ireland, which stand there yielding scarcely any *employment* to the labourers of the country, I feel indignant at the gross misapplication of the nation's wealth. It is *employment* that is wanted; create this extensively, and pauperism hides its face. As to the question of the *church* and *tythes*, a wise, honest, and strong government would decide the matter shortly. "Let each religious party" it would say "enjoy its privileges uninterrupted, let all be equally protected and eligible to the honours and emoluments of the state; but as to the *property*, which has been so long a source of contention, animosity, and even of bloodshed, and which is always found inimical to the interests of true religion, we, as the rightful trustees, take it under our own care, and will apply it to the support of the poor, to the furnishing of employment to all who are able to work, or to any other national purpose which the fairly elected representatives of the nation may appoint." It is *bread*, not *bishops*; employment, not charity; kindness, not coercion, that Ireland needs; she must be ruled, not by the iron hand of despotism, but by the gentle laws of reason and persuasion; and to effect her real advancement party spirit must subside, and rational and moral principles be more widely diffused among all classes.

In conclusion; I respect Ireland; I admire the country; and the genius even of the untaught of the people has often excited my surprise. My journey left upon my memory many important recollections which time will never erase. They are an interesting people, but great changes must take place both in their political and religious connections, before they attain that eminence for which nature has qualified them.

J. L.

COURT OF COMMON SENSE.

THIS court continues to hold its sittings, but though its decisions are important, it gains little ascendancy over the inveterate prejudices of mankind. The following case of *Church against Anti-Church*, deserves to be reported :—The plaintiffs, who are all of the real Church and King party, having been for some time taunted and accused by a host of adversaries, for abusing their power, and oppressing the nation under the pretext of religion, are at last *aroused*, and are determined to make another effort to put down the liberal spirit of the age. The defendants, designated papists, schismatics, unitarians, and infidels, actuated, as they say, by malignant motives, were determined to stand their ground, and abide the issue of a fair investigation. This action, so purely religious in its object, was commenced in the Spiritual Court, but was moved, by public censure, to the Court of Common Sense. The indictment set forth that the above characters had “conspired together, and by force of arms, on divers occasions endeavoured to traduce the holy establishment, to impugn her modest pretensions, to question her utility, and to dispute her right of “ascendancy.” But for the chairman, who is a man of great leniency, the proceedings would have been quashed at the commencement, for the jury objected to the phraseology of the indictment, being at variance with the principles of the court; that is, with *common sense*. However, that difficulty being surmounted, a flaming speech was delivered by the counsel for the complainants, which seemed to produce a strong impression. The purity, utility, antiquity, incomparability, the nationality, and scripturality of the Church were insisted upon, with all the oratory the speaker could command; and a strong panygeric was pronounced upon the learning, the purity, the industry, and the *disinterestedness* of the clergy. It was compared to a mighty tree, which affords shelter and protection to beasts and birds of every kind; and it was admitted that, though its form was rather irregular, owing to its being engrafted, when young, upon a stock which was corrupt, yet it was argued, that to begin to trim its branches, or to eradicate its roots, which are so extensively ramified, would be an attempt of brutality equalled only by the ignorance of its authors. A few spots (like those of the sun, which are always concealed by its essential glory) it was conceded might exist, but what system, it was asked, was spotless, and altogether pure? It was a caveat against the superstitions of Popery, and on the other hand, a firm bulwark against the infidelity of free-thinkers. Altogether, its excellencies were so overpowering, that nothing but an extraordi-

nary effusion of the Spirit could have enabled its founders to organize so perfect a system. In imitation of the great captain of the age, in reference to Reform, he should say, that if he (the Rev. Moonshine, for this was his name) had a system of Religion to devise, he knew of no establishment which he should regard as a standard, but the Church of England. And he deeply regretted to see the restless spirits of the age, incongruous in character, forming themselves into a hostile phalanx to strike if possible a mortal wound. He conjured every orthodox Protestant to resist the attempt; and he was highly delighted to see on the present occasion, by the presence of every ecclesiastical order, from the mitred head to the humble sexton, that they were determined to come to "the help of the Lord against the mighty." There was a time when the process for putting down sedition and heresy was much shorter; but now they must be so demeaned as to argue all these matters beneath the superintending genius of an idol called *Reason* or *Common Sense*. He felt no hostility to the individuals indicted, but jealous of the interests of the Church whenever she was attacked, he was ready to defend her with his last —. The delivery of this sentence produced so simultaneous a *cheering*, that the last part of it was drowned amid the acclamations of the party; upon which the chairman arose and said "that such conduct could not be tolerated, and as it was likely, and perhaps intended, to prejudice the result of the trial, if it were repeated he should adjourn the court."

The examination of witnesses then commenced, and it is remarkable how *feelingly* they all gave in their evidence.

They consisted of the intelligent sexton, who when even digging the graves, would swear like a trooper—of the pluralist David, who both sells ale, gets drunk, and says Amen—of a sober organist, whose Sunday services have been so ill paid at £80 a year, attended by his poor blower who works for 6d. a Sunday.—The Churchwardens, the masters of the feast, were numerous, amongst whom a few were singled out (surely for some special reasons) by the appellation of *bottle cleaners*.—The ministers in holy orders, arrayed in their canonicals, appeared with great *gravity*; but there were persons whispering in the court, "that's him that his father could make nothing of till he got him to be a parson"—yonder chap was drunk t'other Sunday, and they have written to the Bishop about him—this is the best preacher you ever heard, he preaches the *gospel*, but he undoes all by his conduct; he is so greedy of money that nobody can manage him." Nothing particularly was remarked about any of the dignitaries, (for the people only know by report that there are such men) excepting that the diploma of one of the bishops was ornamented by the

numerical addition of *thirty-two* M's. Altogether they were certainly a goodly company.

The evidence of all the parties was perfectly harmonious; and though it proceeded from persons so various in their stations and occupations, in every essential particular it was the same. The evidence against the free-thinkers and infidels, as they were called, assumed that they were void of all religion, and dangerous members of society, whilst the papists were repeatedly charged with a design to rob the church, and get possession of all her temporalities.

The case for the prosecution closed, and the defence was begun; and certainly when the appearance of the defendants was contrasted with that of their antagonists, the odds seemed as much against them as that of David's sling against Goliath's sword. "The learned counsel," said the advocate of the defendants, "had taken immense labour to praise the church, and to persuade the jury that the charges were such as to call for conviction. So elevated did his friend appear in closing his 'case,' and so triumphantly did he expect to quit the field; that justice to his clients, and the importance of his cause, obliged him thus early in his defence, to pronounce his assumptions a delusion. A strong wall had been built, but it wanted the cement of *truth*; to this he would oppose the stubbornness of astounding facts, against which he was persuaded no empty declamation could prevail. He did not deny many things which had been imputed to the defendants, and he was proud to defend men who, while they were actuated by the purest motives, had by a noble stand made against established corruptions; rendered themselves obnoxious to a whole host of greedy cormorants. For 'conspiracy and force of arms,' the jury must understand *sincere conviction*, and the *force of argument*; and whatever concession he made as to the truth of some of the allegations, he claimed for his clients the credit of being actuated by pure motives. Instead of being exposed to censure, he was persuaded that an impartial developement of their principles would cause them to be admired as the first patriots of the land. Like some huge hill on a public road, the church may have become venerable in proportion to the difficulties it has imposed; but if it be in the power of man either to level it with the surrounding country, or to lead the traveller by another route, who will say that an important advantage has not been gained? Those doubtless who collected the toll, will be loudest in their complaints; and the character of the present assembly forcibly reminded him of a similar one at Ephesus, whose *craft was in danger*, and who for the space of three hours, drowned every other voice in the orthodox cry, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians.'

The defendants' witnesses were then brought forward, but the evidence was so diffuse, that all that I can do, is to give a condensed analysis of it. They all admitted hostility to the Church, but maintained it to be an hostility of principle, and asserted that so long as they were loyal and peaceable subjects no one had a right to interdict the free expression of their opinions, as to the merits of any Church—that as members of the state, and contributors to its wealth, they considered it a duty to oppose a system which, while it was at variance with the opinions of the nation, was principally supported for the purpose of affording emoluments to a numerous dependancy, who were sacrificing the resources of the country. They maintained, moreover, that religion, being a matter between God and a man's own conscience, no *man* has a right to *dictate*, no *authority* to *controul* his faith or his formulary. Argument and persuasion were the only legitimate means in the promulgation of religion, and therefore for any Government, or any other human authority, to make a religion for the country, to saddle it with the expense, and to persecute those who refuse to accept it, is not only intolerant, but approaching to impiety.—That rulers are chosen for the well-being of society, and that their offices are appointed for *civil purposes*, to defend the liberties, rights, and property of the subjects of the realm, to better the temporal and social condition of society, and to punish those who endanger the civil compact by breaking the laws. Beyond this the government cannot go consistently, for the moment it steps beyond its proper bounds, by making religions for the people, it gets into a labyrinth of difficulties, and evinces its own incompetency, by the article it produces, and especially by its effects in the country.—That it would be equally as proper to give any one system of Astronomy, Chemistry, or Physics, the high epithet of “national,” and insist upon the people's believing it, and paying an enormous price for its promulgation.—That were it possible for any order of men to make an infallible selection, (though such a pretension can never be entertained but in connection with an assumed infallibility, whence it is known to have taken its rise,) Statesmen, of all others, are the most unlikely. Engaged in wars, accustomed to worldly policy, their time and attention absorbed in temporal affairs; men of high birth, ambitious feelings, and loose morals,—are *these* the persons to define the articles of the christian faith, and to assume for the nation, the correct interpretation of the will of Christ? So far from this, it is clear that *political* feeling has been the inspiration of new religions, and that the same motives which led Henry to proscribe the system of popery, might lead William to adopt it. To talk of Kings and Courtiers legislating for the kingdom of Heaven, is truly to outrage common sense.—That if the state be anxious

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to improve the *morals* of the people, and for this purpose formed a partnership concern with the Church, why do they not exercise their *lawful* authority for that purpose? Why do they not remove the vices and abuses which abound? Why are the public houses, the dram shops, and the houses of ill fame allowed to send their pestiferous influence over all the country? If they are so anxious for the *eternal* welfare of the people, why not pay more attention to their *temporal* concerns? Why tantalize the poor man, by pretending to supply him with the bread of life, and not adopt such measures as are requisite to secure to him his daily bread? Such pretensions for diffusing religion are sheer hypocrisy.—That, appealing to every man's observation, the *article* which has been introduced, and forced upon the country for the last 300 years, and for opposing which the individuals are now upon their trial is sufficient of itself to settle all disputes. Is there a *disinterested, reflecting* man of sane mind, who sincerely and cordially approves of it? While believing its creed and worshiping with its forms is the road to respectability and wealth, we cannot bring the subject to a fair test; but we believe if this Daughter of Babylon were stripped of her scarlet robe, and her golden bowl dashed from her hand, few would make any sacrifice for her support if she were molested by all the infidels and papists of the land. She has a creed which is so well expressed as to be made to mean two *opposite* doctrines—she has a form of worship the most incongruous that can be conceived, producing a spirit of settled formality—she has various services appointed at variance both with the letter and spirit of the New Testament, and for which a regular price is demanded—she has a course of discipline, belonging to her courts, her fasts and her feasts, of which she has long been ashamed, and which have no existence except in the canons and the prayer book—she has appointed an immense number of offices, to which are appended a graduated portion of the good things of life, kept open to satisfy the longings of those who are too good to be turned out to the world, and who in return for such favours are ever ready to link themselves to the yoke of the oppressor—she has officers, connected with services, professedly the most sacred, of an abandoned character, whose example is abominable,—with all her pretences to be national she teaches but a few of the people, and seldom with effect, and leaves the great bulk either destitute of instruction, or to be taught by others.—And that, in the last place, providing all besides were correct, the *demands of the church* and the *mode* in which they are made, are such, that with a Bible in the English language, with the voice of reason in our breasts, and with an impoverished people before our eyes, we deem it a libel upon human nature to suppose that we can any longer remain silent. Is every

man's pig-sty, shippoon, orchard, garden, granary, and corn fields to be ransacked to pay for a religion which he contemns? Is an indiscriminate demand to be made every year upon every individual above a certain age for a service which they never attend? Is it not enough for a man to pay while he is *living*, without being followed by posthumous taxation in the shape of *mortuary* after death? Must we be charged with taxes for churches and for land to inter the dead, and yet if we want either a seat in one, or a grave in the other, we must be taxed again? Is our hard earned money to be squandered by Parliamentary grants upon the dependants of the aristocracy, through the patronage of the church? Are we to be put to the expence of *supporting the poor* and all our Institutions, while the church seizes upon the lands and estates bequeathed for this purpose? Is it to be any longer endured that nine millions a year should be abstracted from the produce of the country for an article which the greater part do not want, and for which the other part are well able to pay?

This may be considered as a fair summary of the evidence and arguments produced by the several witnesses for the defendants, who were still proceeding in the same strain, when the foreman of the jury, rising from his seat, intimated to the Chairman, that they had heard quite sufficient, and were all satisfied that the defendants were entitled to an acquittal. The Chairman in reply said, that the impression of his own mind was in accordance with their decision, and that he felt glad they had saved him the trouble of detailing to them the evidence of the parties, and proceeded to pronounce the verdict accordingly. The *Church* party, of course was charged with all expences, but which were much reduced by the *Anti-Church* party refusing any recompence, alleging that the triumph of their principles was to them an ample reward. But the expences of the plaintiffs, amounting to a considerable sum, I understand, are to be placed among the *et ceteras* of the Churchwardens' Accounts, and paid for "as the Act directs." Adjourned.

J. L.

NATIONAL FAST.

A PROCLAMATION has been issued, appointing the 21st of March as a *National Fast*; and though it appears to be very little noticed, yet it may afford matter for some useful observations. Though I prefer that sort of religion which consists in a *pure* heart, a *holy conversation*, and a *good life*, to the observance of times and seasons; and am especially jealous of all spiritual services emanating from the injunctions of regal authority; yet if a *nation* is so far convinced of its wickedness as to see the necessity of an

universal expression of humiliation for sin, and a penitent application for the mercy of the Most High, it may not be improper, for the sake of order, in the chief magistrate of the nation to fix the time; but if such an appointment were grounded upon the feelings and desires of the country, it is hard to say how so many weeks could be allowed to elapse betwixt the notice and the period fixed. I say if a nation is convinced, this may be done, (and this is a point, in reference to which, the proofs are very slender,) if not, the command of Kings and Princes will not produce these dispositions; and hence it is to be feared, that instead of a deep conviction of sin, arising from the powerful appeals of faithful men to every individual of every class in society, and followed by all the "*fruits of repentance*," we shall just pass over the 21st of March, by closing our shops, reading over an extra prayer, composed for the occasion, and abstaining for once from a good dinner. If more than this follow, I will confess myself mistaken. What a poor idea Kings and Bishops have of *real godliness*! they seem to think, that if the handful of people who go to Church, only attend an extra day in the week, or read over an extra service, it is a panacea for all the ills of society. The circular of the bishop of this diocese is clearly in point, and the consequence of it in this parish is, that in addition to the former services, the prayers are read on a *Friday*, but *beyond the walls of the Church*, nothing extra is heard of. The mass of the working people, who "live without God, and without hope in the world," still remain like sheep without a shepherd. The fashionable world is governed by *appearances*; this enters into religion as into every other matter; and therefore, not to *appear* to be extraordinarily affected, when such a scourge as the Cholera is among us, would convey the *appearance* of deep impiety. But it is neither *fasting*, *confessing*, nor *praying*, (though all are important duties, if performed with *sincerity*;) unless accompanied with *forsaking our sins*, that has the promise of mercy. And it is to this point principally, if not exclusively, that the Proclamation should have referred. We call upon God with our *lips*; but our *hearts* are far from him; we call Jesus, Lord, Lord, but *do not* the things which he commands. It is *righteousness* not *formality*, that exalteth a nation.—I, therefore, respectfully suggest that the following should either be substituted for, or appended to, the Proclamation already in print.

"We exhort all our loving subjects, that from this time forward they will every one, according to his station, well and truly consider the tenor of their past lives, and by humility and prayer, and *practical obedience*, turn unto the Lord. We particularly call the attention of all corporations to the

duties of sobriety and self-denial, and that they eat no man's bread but their own. We appeal to the gentry; those upon whom fortune has smiled, and left free from the obligation of labour and toil; that they no longer spend their time and money in gaming, carousing, and idleness; but that they devote their time, talents, and influence, to the diffusion of human happiness.—We call upon the Magistrates to be examples of purity, sobriety, and peaceful conduct; to cease from pride and oppression; to mix with the people, and to do all they can to better their condition.—The Ladies we admonish, not to be puffed up with pride, nor to squander their time in adorning the body; in learning exterior accomplishments, or pursuing the pleasures of midnight “parties.” You are well-gifted for restoring to a proper tone the social cord; and we beseech you, by all that is sacred, to descend from a “fairy” world, and to bless society by a constant course of *useful* labour.—To the proprietors of large works, we say, consider well the tendency of so large an association of inexperienced, untaught youth, within your walls. You have added much to the wealth of the nation; but have you duly attended to the physical and moral effects produced upon society? Next to your own happiness and improvement, attend to that of your work-people; let sobriety be added to industry; humility to diligence; and an anxiety for the interests of your servants, in addition to your own. Let it be your pride to have a well-instructed, sober, and contented people about you; and though you be elevated in circumstances, consider, that as rational and accountable beings, *they* are still your equals. No class of men, in a civil point of view, has the power of diffusing so much good or evil.—The Lawyers we intreat to become “peacemakers,” and to have mercy upon the pockets of their clients.—The Overseers should enter dispassionately into the cases of the poor, and administer the law in the spirit of christians.—Let the rich Farmer consider his station; and instead of grasping at wealth as his god, and spending his time in grovelling pursuits, and making up by just going to church on a Sunday; let him improve his *mind*, gather from all his surrounding scenes, the proofs of a Divine Being, and learn to teach his children and his domestics the fear of God.—To the Spirit Merchants, Publicans, and Landlords, we especially address ourselves. The licences granted for inns, and for the manufacture and vending of ardent spirits, have opened the way for that awful prevalence of intoxication, which is now, justly, a subject of great alarm. You are the agents of all this; vice and depravity are propagated by the agency of the spirit vender. And many of the arrangements of the public houses are positively so many parts of an apparatus for “killing and slaying” the people. Spare your victims we entreat you; cease to de-

stroy men's reason, to ruin their health, to impoverish their condition, to distress their families, and to consign them to the grave amid the dreadful forebodings of a wicked life. Drunkenness is the curse of the land, and if we cannot effect a reform by persuasion, rather than incur the displeasure of the Almighty, we shall use the powers we possess for suppressing it as much as possible.—To all others in inferior situations of life, we would address a respectful exhortation; but as they are so numerous, and perhaps many of them unlikely to see this our proclamation, we invite the clergy to convey to them our best wishes and benediction. We wish every means to be adopted that are calculated to make them wise, prudent, pious, and happy. We therefore, peremptorily, enjoin upon the ministers of religion, to endeavour to lead them, both by teaching and example, into the paths of repentance and reformation. If we have incurred the displeasure of God, who should stand betwixt us but the ministers of his word? Visit, we command you, every poor man's abode; teach him his duties to himself, his family, his country, and his God; sympathise with him in his distresses, and secure for him the supply of his wants. Let this be your daily calling; and now that the seeds of virtue appear to be lost among them, make another effort to plant the tree of life. The formal duties of your ministry, you perceive, are *not effectual*, and therefore, in the spirit of primitive times, deny yourselves, take up your cross, and follow him who *went about doing good*; who said, "My meat and my drink is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work;" and of whom it was observed, on account of his labour, "that he had not time, no not so much as to eat bread." Their souls are committed into your hands, and woe unto you if you feed yourselves and not the flock. To warn men of their danger, and to snatch them as brands from the burning is your office, but how can you do this unless you come in contact with them? Every place of ill-fame, every haunt of wickedness and vice, therefore, should be visited; and it would as ill become a watchman to sit down, with the flames before his eyes, as for you to be at ease while "the world lieth in wickedness." Your reward is in heaven; and if you be faithful, the chief shepherd will place on your heads a crown which shall never fade.—And, finally, in exhorting all classes of our loving subjects "to bring forth fruits meet for repentance," as examples to the nation, we pledge ourselves to consider *our own ways*. "We have truly erred and strayed like lost sheep," and we believe it is now high time to "return to the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls." We intend to investigate every department of the state; and to abolish every arrangement that leads to the commission of vice; the poor shall no longer be oppressed; and the land shall no longer mourn because of swearing.

We have been personally proud, and haughty; and sensual and fleshly gratifications have been our delight; our secret sins have been many, and we have openly violated the law of our God. For the purpose of revelling we have turned night into day, and day into night, and we have set a bad example as to the sanctity of the Sabbath. And we now earnestly call upon the people of these realms to join us in every expression of repentance, to fast and pray that the Lord would be merciful to us; and as the best proof of repentance "to break off our sins by righteousness and our iniquities by showing mercy to the poor."

Given at our Court, &c. &c.

God save the King and the Nation.

ELECTION OATHS.—Those who have been present at the false swearing and profanity exhibited at the Election of Members for Parliament, will be sorry to find that the new bill contains no remedy for this evil. What have people to do with swearing to the succession of Kings and Queens which they do not understand, and which if they did, would have little weight upon their consciences at a time of so much excitement. With the register, proposed in the new reform bill, the *identity* of the individual applying to give his vote, appears to be the principle, if not the only difficulty; but instead of imposing an oath for this purpose, it would be much better in my opinion, to punish every individual convicted of deception, with the loss of his franchise. We should do all we can to preserve the solemnity of an oath.

A NINE BOTTLE MAN.—Among the worthy corporation of Doncaster, there was one individual to whom this title was given, because he was able to manage that number at one sitting. The gentleman who vouches for the fact, states that *he* has been present when he has emptied *seven*. So corpulent were all the thirteen, consisting of Aldermen and Mayor, that a wager was made that they averaged 20 stone each, which was lost by only a very few pounds. As gluttony and drunkenness are popular characteristics of corporations, and as their lives are often cut short by their excesses, through which their *valuable* services are lost to the public, it would be a great mercy to both parties, if the government would give them the well-merited honour of a place in schedule A. Or if there be any "just cause or impediment" why this should not be done, let the right of election be taken from *themselves* and given to the *people*, whose money they expend, and for whose good these bodies were originally constituted.

JUVENILE VICE.—If we may judge from what passes daily before us, the next generation promises no improvement upon the present. Juvenile delinquency every where prevails. The most active depredators in many of the recent riots were mere boys; and every person knows what a great proportion of criminals are of the ages of from 10 to 21.—Three of this class, charged with manslaughter, were committed to Lancaster the week before last. And though the offence was such as is revolting to every humane mind, having kicked a man till he died, yet when seated on the coach, they behaved with the utmost levity, and when the coach started they waved their hands to the surrounding crowd.

A PLAGUE.—What is it that disfigures the gentleman's mansion, leads him to brick up his windows, and deprive many of his apartments both of the light and air of heaven? What is it that takes off the gig wheels of many a poor tradesman, and consigns his vehicle to the lumber heap in the coach-maker's yard? What is it that leads men of moderate capital to contract their expenses, to sell their horses; to keep one horse instead of two, or two instead of four? What is it that *abridges employment*; that says, I will increase your tax for every additional waiter, groom, or shopman you keep? What is it that says to the industrious shopkeeper, who carries on his business in a front situation, I will compel you to shut up every lodging room in your house, and to rent a separate establishment in another part of the town? What is that monstrous intruder that leads to evasions and equivocations on the part of the payer, and severity, and vexatious proceedings on the part of the receiver? What is it that taxes a person, not according to the *value* of his property, or his *ability* to pay, but according to the shape of his house, the quantity of his light, and the extent of his facilities for finding employment for others? What is it that gives the man of a little brief authority the power of changing what *he pleases*, and actually of *doubling* the charge, if the party should neglect to attend at a certain time and place, to prove the charge unjust? What is it, in a word, that every body hates, and would gladly make any exchange to get rid of? What but that anomalous thing called **ASSESSED TAX**. Mr. *Peppercorn* has lately given us such a *warming* in the shape of *surcharges*, that we cannot forget it all at once; but like every other severe and impolitic demand, I hope it will work its own death; and if it were interred to-morrow, I will answer for it, with the exception of Mr. P. himself, not a single tear would be shed. The sooner the better.

FACTORY HOURS.—In both Yorkshire and Lancashire the ten hours' bill of Mr. Saddler seems to be exciting considerable opposition; and it is painful to see such papers as the Leeds Mercury advocating the principle of delay, by calling for a committee to investigate the question. The humane proposal of sparing the waste of vital energy in childhood, and giving the child the opportunity of feeling that there is something in life besides incessant toil, appears to have created uncommon alarm. No profits, and *great* profits, a *scarcity* and an *over* production, and numerous other wild forebodings appear to agitate the friends of "long time." This question, however, is not to be settled upon the principles of *factory economy*, which, like all similar matters, is now reduced to a science, but upon the principles of *propriety, consistency, and humanity*; and I appeal to every reflecting mind whether ten hours' labour, exclusive of meal times, in the atmosphere of a factory is not sufficient, and more than ought to be sufficient, for youth in whom the love of liberty and voluntary exercise are as instinctive as life? I am glad to see the rising spirit of humanity, and if their be a conflict betwixt the present system of factories, and the comforts and morals of the people, I would say, factories were made for the people, *not the people for the factories*. To deter the poor from pressing their point they are told that wages will fall, but has *long hours*, I would ask, kept up wages? If we travel through all the professions and trades among us, it will appear that *long hours* and *short wages* generally go together. I have long foreseen, that wages, generally, will come down, and have therefore constantly advocated the repeal of the corn laws to meet it; and if the wages of the children be too little, this, I should think is a better remedy than depriving early life of all its enjoyments, engendering prema-

ture disease, and consigning to the grave, as old and worn out, those who really should be but in the prime of life. I wish Mr. Saddler's bill my hearty success.

SMOKING.—What will come next? *Tobacco* is now a necessary of life; and with many lads of 16 or 18 years of age, a short pipe is an indispensable part of the furniture of the waistcoat pocket. Mere lads, almost children, are seen strutting in the streets with a pipe in their mouths; while ale and tobacco, and a volley of oaths, on a Saturday evening, just make the man. The exquisites, of course, cannot take the fume through a vulgar tube; they must seize the bulk; they bite at the lump like a dog at a bone, and like that sagacious animal, so soon as they have finished one, are ready to lick their lips for another. What a noble finish does the protruding cigar give to the animal, man! How excellent the smell, how delicious the taste, and how vivid the light of the torch he carries between his teeth! The Insurance offices are now relieved from the apprehensions first entertained; though well packed, the smokers of cigars are found to be men of real solids; *mind*, a light and inflammable matter, enters little into the composition, and therefore accidents seldom occur. A gig, a cigar, a pair of reins, and a whip supporting itself, is what is now called the *tip top* of life. By the bye, that numerous race of beings who have got a stomach in the *head*, which requires incessant attention, ought not to be overlooked. How beautifully they supply the wants of this craving appetite; how suitable the food, and how powerful the organs of digestion! The box, the *pinch*, and the receiver, are all admirably adapted to each other; the result, doubtless, of deep thinking, of accurate comparisons, and of an inflexible opposition to the power of habit! The old ladies keep to their old regimen, but so prevalent is the principle of dissent in these days, that Lundyfoot and other superlative preparations, have become the beverage of the *young* of both sexes.—There is, after all the refined modes of consuming this immortal plant, a much more *straight-forward* way of effecting this. Those who seize the *quid*, are certainly entitled to the highest honour, and as this practice is so congenial to the delicate and fine sensibilities of our nature, I only refrain from a lengthened description, lest I should produce too great an excitement in the *longings* of my readers!

THE CHOLERA.—Alarming as the spread of the Cholera appears to have been in some places, it is more on account of the *novelty* of the disease than of any extraordinary ravages that it has yet made. It is the formality of the announcement, and the powers of the "broad sheet," which have given it its greatest importance. When I consider the precautions which have been taken throughout all the country, the comforts which have been added to the poor, in the distribution of clothing, bedding, and food, and the universal inculcation of cleanliness, I am quite of an opinion that more *good* than evil will be the result.

THE REFORM BILL.—This bill still progresses, and whatever interruptions it may encounter among the wise and hereditary portions of our legislature, it must ultimately pass. The *nation wills* it, and who shall resist? Though imperfect in theory, it will be found, I believe, to contain principles, the most salutary in their effects.

PRESTON TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.—A provisional committee has been formed, and the following is the Fundamental Principle upon which it is agreed to base the society:—

"We the undersigned believe that the prevailing practice of using intoxicating liquors is most injurious both to the temporal and spiritual interests of the people, by producing crime,

poverty, and distress. We believe also that decisive means of reformation, including example as well as precept, are loudly and imperatively called for. We do therefore voluntarily agree, that we will totally abstain from the use of ardent spirits ourselves, and will not give nor offer them to others, except as medicines. And if we use other liquors, it shall be at all times in great moderation; and we will to the utmost of our power, discountenance all the causes and practices of Intemperance."

A public meeting will shortly be called to organize the society, when, I have reason to hope, a considerable number will enrol themselves as members.

SPARRING.—What will the world think of us as to morals when they read the following copy of a bill which has been posted through the town? Talk of refinement, when abusing and defacing the brightest piece of Heaven's Workmanship is reduced to a science! Had it not been my day at Bolton, I would have attended to witness this "treat." The great evil is that those who are sincerely wishful to reform the people have so little time, and as for the present ministers of religion, from whom we have a right to expect much, they seem totally indisposed for such work.

"A TREAT TO THE FANCY."

Young HAMPSON most respectfully informs the Sporting Gentry of Preston that he intends taking his FAREWELL BENEFIT, on Monday Night next, the 13th of February, 1832, at the house of Mr. T. SHAW, Royal Oak, St. John St. BILL LOONEY, (who defeated Jack Manning, who is matched to fight BILL FISHER, for £25: aside) will be in attendance, and he hopes his Preston friends will support him on this occasion.

JACK HUGHES, who has trained all the fighting men in Liverpool, will make his appearance in a set too with JEM DUCKWORTH, for a Belly-full, Nightingale and Middleton, Jack Ellis and Shaw, and all the first rate men have promised their assistance on this occasion.

Looney and Hampson will wind up the Sports of the Evening with a slap-up set too.

Sparring to commence at Eight o'Clock precisely.—Admission—One Shilling each.—Tickets to be had at all the Sporting Houses in the town."

THE MAGISTRACY.—From the late Parliamentary Returns it appears that there are 175 Magistrates in this County, 151 of whom are Laymen and 24 Clergymen. The population of the County by the last census is 1,335,000, so that there is on an average only one Magistrate to 7,633 inhabitants. Now it always strikes me that the *number* and *distribution* of Magistrates should not be a mere matter of caprice; the *necessity* of their appointment, and the *object* to be answered should be the regulating principles. As matters are now, the possession or non-possession of Magistrates, is just as certain as clear or cloudy weather. If a man happen to be an Alderman he is in office, or if another happen to *think* he will be a Magistrate, he gets made one; hence while extensive towns like Blackburn have not had a single Magistrate, other towns, like Preston, can boast of a dozen or more. Instead of being on the spot where the peace is most likely to be broken, many of them live in the country where there is no peace to break. The office of Justice like that of clergyman necessarily arises from the character of society, and should be so filled as to answer the proper end of its appointment. *Character, talent, residence, and proportionate numbers*, are all essential, and if it be important in any establishment, that the *work to be done* should be the principle of fixing the *number* of servants, defining the sphere of their labour, and discriminating their talents and qualifications, it is equally so here. In this department of our social system there wants a radical reform.

J. L.

Communications.

To the Editor of the Moral Reformer.

SIR,

PREVIOUS to undertaking the very limited answer to your first query I was fully aware of the extensive field into which you had invited your readers. I entered it with the hope that some one more qualified as a disputant than myself, would follow, and afford me an opportunity of withdrawing after having briefly given utterance to my sentiments: In this, however, I have been disappointed, and have been reluctantly drawn within the circle of disputation.

For the purpose of making myself as explicitly understood as possible, I will, in this letter, endeavour to show upon what grounds I advocate submission to Government, and point out the circumstances under which I consider the subject justified in his resistance to the Government. I think it will not be denied that civilized society is, at all times preferable to barbarism—that there can be no civilization where there exists no Government—no government where there is no law—and no law where there is no submission to the administrators of that law. The first form of Government of which we have any mention in history was that of the Patriarch over his own family. This period, justly designated the golden age, was characteristic of innocence and simplicity;—no irregular passions engendered corruption of manners, and no arbitrary laws were requisite where the natural emotions of the soul were sufficient incitements to virtue. But when dissatisfaction sprang up amongst them, equality was destroyed; violence trampled on the rights of man, and ambition, unsheathing the sword of despotism, established monarchy, supreme and absolute, and after monarchy, government, by laws, which, at first, like the manners of the age, were plain and simple. But this simplicity, gradually giving way to complication and refinement, it has, from time to time, been found requisite to oppose that tyranny which they were so well calculated to harbour. But though it must be acknowledged that governors and laws have frequently been productive of the greatest calamities—though every nation that ever existed has, at one time or another, had to bend beneath the power of tyranny—rust upon ruin at the command of ambition—or languish in indolence and vice for the gratification of effeminacy—yet it must also be acknowledged that the waters which flow from the pure fount of civil government, are as efficacious in the production of national happiness, as that of the Egyptian stream in that of vegetation.

It being the will of God that man should be happy, and civil Government being conducive to that end, by establishing order and regularity in society, it follows, that unnecessarily to disturb the harmony of society by opposing Government, is to diminish the designs and will of God. It is not every infringement of the subjects' privileges—it is not every dereliction of duty on the part of the sovereign—nor is it every neglect of duty on the part of the whole body of the legislature, that can justify our resistance to Government. It is not sufficient authority to know that such and such laws are not just—that they are not founded on the ground of equity—that the fulfilment of them is galling to a considerable portion of the community. No, before we presume to risk the happiness of

the nation we must take a far more extensive view ; we must attempt to penetrate the sable depths of futurity :—in short, we must look upon *general consequences*, and calculate, with mathematical nicety the *advantages or disadvantages* that would accrue from such a step. No man, or any set of men can be justified in their *resistance* of Government and their content of the laws, unless a quantity of happiness accrues from such resistance which is more than sufficient to repay the evils resulting from civil disturbance.

Thus submission to Government may truly be said to be a *moral duty*. Nevertheless there are some cases when resistance is necessary, but ought never to be employed until every other means has failed. If it is the duty of the people to submit to government and obey the laws, it is no less the duty of government to promote the happiness of those they govern. This they cannot be said to do if they persevere in enforcing laws to which the people are decidedly opposed. No law is so binding that it ought not to be abolished if the comfort of society can in any degree be promoted by such a step. If the legislature refuse to comply thus far with the wishes of those over whom they are placed, and in defiance of all remonstrance persevere in tyrannising over the happiness of the community, resistance to such laws is justifiable *providing* the expense with which it must necessarily be attended, does not exceed the *benefit* resulting from such a measure. This conclusion I think will be allowed, and, that I may not trespass too much upon your patience, (if I have not already done so) I will hasten to bring this letter to a conclusion, by noticing, as briefly as possible, your remarks upon my last.

You say that “when the demands of the law are founded upon justice, utility, and public good, there cannot be two opinions of the obligation to submit ; but where the composite of these attach to any enactments there seems to be a *doubt*.” I wish not to advocate injustice nor the continuaty of laws injurious to the interests of the community, but I must say that to advocate resistance to all laws which are considered unjust, &c., is setting up a rule as dangerous to the happiness of the nation as tyranny itself ; and I feel convinced that no man who prefers order and regularity to discord, and has accustomed himself to look forward to general consequences, previous to making public assertions, would support such a system of hostility and contention. If no man is bound to obey those laws which *he considers* as unjust, useless, or prejudicial to the public good every man would be his own law maker—disorder would reign the undisputed monarch of the country—justice would be supplanted by violence—and civil liberty become a name without the reality.—I cannot suppose that you would support such a system as this ; but I think you will not deny that if men are bound to obey only those laws which meet with their approbation, and are justified in setting the rest at defiance, such consequences must follow.

With respect to the obsolete enactment remaining on the statute book, if the people did their duty to themselves they would demand a formal repeal of the whole, and it is somewhat surprising that a people so jealous of their civil liberty as the British should so long have overlooked this not unimportant point. There are many, the existence of which the country is almost totally ignorant of, yet, if put in operation, cannot be justly resisted, unless, as I said before, the benefit gained would recompence the community for the expences attending such resistance. The laws against sending letters by coachmen and giving receipts upon unstamped paper, &c., though not strictly enforced are yet in operation, and though perhaps unjust, though they may not be founded upon the ground of equity, it is, nevertheless, the duty of every subject to submit to these laws until he has satisfied himself that they are not attended by a corresponding public advantage—that they are obnoxious to the community at large—that resistance is the *only* and *best* mode of attempting their removal—and that the *evil* is actually *deserving* of such a step.

As for the argument respecting double and treble letters you say that "the letter contained value, and the post-office was to be held answerable for losses then the *full* postage ought to be paid, though less was demanded (by the agent.) All this I will grant: but you still make no distinction between the demands of the law and the demands of the agent of the law, and would consider yourself justified in taking advantage of the carelessness of the servant for the purpose of defrauding the employer, because you say "no principle of equity which is the basis of morality would lead a person to offer more." But I consider this a question of political philosophy, and that philosophy does not teach us to refuse obedience to all those which we consider not quite equitable, for there are many enactments very wide of being so perfect, and yet are attended with so much public advantage that it would be as impolitic in the legislature suddenly to remove them as the resistance of any man or body of men would be absurd and criminal. I therefore still maintain that so long as the law demands a certain sum for a treble letter, though the agent may demand only a part of that sum, it is the duty of the subject to pay the *full* postage. For if one man can be justified in taking advantage of a mistake committed by the post-mistress, surely another ought not to be termed dishonest, if on receiving an account and finding, that he is not charged with the whole of the goods received, he submits his conduct to the decision of self-interest—lets the mistake pass off unnoticed—and endeavours to pacify conscience by saying that he paid all that was demanded.

I think you will perceive that I do not advocate the equitability of the post-office laws. I only advocate that it is a moral duty, founded upon political philosophy to submit to Government and obey the laws. so long as the happiness of the community requires it and no longer. But this submission does not debar us from the privilege of seeking redress for public grievances, nor would I wish to see the people passive spectators, when their civil liberties are infringed upon. A man whose actions are regulated by the impulses of the moment—who fancies himself a patriot because he cries out "liberty"—and who denounces the government as worse than useless, because he perceives that some laws are not just—that some are oppressive—and that few are founded upon the ground of equity, is a disturber of his country's peace—a foe to civil liberty—and a nuisance to society. And he who can view tyranny and injustice preying upon the vitals of his country—who can behold the wretchedness and misery to which the unwise measures of government have reduced those around him—and seeing this sit supinely indolent, deserves to be branded with infamy, as a cowardly supporter of those measures which are undermining the stability and happiness of his country. But he who neither suffers himself to be carried away by the whirlwind of passion, nor languishes in the lap of indolence when his country requires the exercise of his abilities, but takes his reason for the discovery of remedies, and applies them, when found, with steady firmness—he alone will be found capable and willing to heal the wounds of his country.

I am afraid I have already trespassed too much upon the pages of your useful periodical. To say more would be ungenerous—therefore, wishing you every success,

I remain, Sir,

Yours, &c.

CAIUS TAURANIUS.

January 11th, 1832.

Unwilling to prolong the controversy, though in this communication I think I still see some vulnerable points, I withhold any remarks. The letter is well written, and I hope the circumstance of its being a second or third rejoinder will not prevent its being attentively perused. EDIT.

To the Editor of the Moral Reformer.

SIR,

Judging from your zealous efforts to promote information among those around you, that a short account of the plan that has been adopted in our town for the establishing of news room for the industrious classes, may be acceptable to you, I am induced to trouble you on this occasion.

Some of my friends and myself having been for some time of opinion that a news room for the industrious classes, founded upon the basis of liberal views and economy, was highly desirable, where political information is much sought after; and thinking also that the establishing of one might be productive of good in a moral point of view, determined upon trying the experiment.

Our determination was made known to the public by placards, which stated also that a meeting would be held at a place mentioned; and calling upon those who were favourable to our plan of affording information to the industrious classes to attend. The meeting was held about the middle of December last, and was numerously attended. Several persons addressed the meeting in support of our plan, and I should not forget to mention that a mechanic of the name of JAMES PARKE, spoke on that occasion, and took a very clear and comprehensive view of the great advantages that would result; and he certainly addressed the meeting in a manner that excited the liveliest pleasure in those who heard him. He was in himself a proof of the benefits the working classes may acquire, by a proper and diligent attention to the cultivation of the mind.

It was agreed at the meeting that the members of the news room should pay three-half-pence a week; and it was understood by those present, who could afford, that they should subscribe from time to time, according as the state of the funds might require. A committee was chosen, and they were empowered to form rules for the future guidance of the members. A suitable room was taken in a central part of the town; forms were purchased, and through the kindness of some friends, a table, a stove and a clock were provided, and the room is now lighted with gas. The number of members amounts to upwards of 100, and the following daily and weekly newspapers are taken in:—The Morning Chronicle, the Sun, the Standard, the Examiner, the Liverpool Mercury, the Manchester and Salford Advertiser, the Dublin Comet, and Bell's Life in London; and the Spectator, Cobbett's Register, and the Literary Guardian, are lent to the room. Several times, when I have had a few minutes of spare time, I have gone to the room, and I can assure you I have been much gratified to see men attentively reading the papers, who, if there had not been a news-room, might have been induced to pass their time at a public house, for the purpose of reading a paper, and of course must have spent at least three-half-pence for beer, and perhaps they might have been induced to spend more money, which, in times like the present, they cannot afford. Now, by paying three-half-pence per week, the members of this news-room have the opportunity of reading three daily and eight weekly papers; therefore in point of economy it is desirable for those who are wishful to learn what is passing in the political world, to become members. A member may have a week's reading of 11 papers for the same money that a glass of beer would cost at one sitting; and most likely he would only have the opportunity of reading one paper, and that a weekly one.—In a public-house it is very probable that he might have his attention

taken from the paper he is reading by interruptions, which are disagreeable to news readers; but in a news-room, conducted in an orderly manner, there is nothing to annoy. For many reasons which I could mention, I strongly recommend the establishing of news-rooms for the industrious classes in every town and village, but more especially because I feel certain that they would be the means of checking in some degree the vice which is so alarmingly prevalent—a vice which deprives many a good wife and helpless family of the necessities and comforts of life—which renders a man unfit for those duties which he owes to God and his fellow beings, and which destroys health and happiness.

I am, yours respectfully,

THOMAS GRUNDY.

Redvales, near Bury, 14th Feb. 1832.

To the Editor of the Moral Reformer.

Sir,

IN almost all large towns there are certain streets which are significantly called "bad streets." In these live numbers of females who have departed from the paths of virtue, and brought upon themselves all the misery and shame incident to a life of prostitution. Here may be seen vice its most revolting forms:—woman, the crowning gift of the Creator's goodness, intended to be the source of our purest happiness, and the soother of our cares,—sunk in the lowest depths of infamy, at once a curse to herself and others. Oh, it is lamentable to think of the present wretched state of these fallen creatures, and to contrast what they might have been! Yes, these very females—who are now seen, decked in their gaudy dresses, alluring their victims to "the depths of hell;" or at another time reeling along the street under the influence of intoxication, and uttering horrid and blasphemous oaths!—might have been the virtuous wives of men in their own rank, and the happy mothers of humble but contented families. And who are the authors of all this misery? Who are the seducers of these females? Are they to be found amongst the ranks of the poor; and does such villainy lurk amid the lowest dregs of society? No: the criminals are seldom found in this quarter, as the law compels the poor man to marry the woman he seduces; but generally the prostitute can point to a "gentleman" who destroyed her hopes of happiness, and who so far from evincing any pity for his victim, or compunction for his crime, boasts of the numbers he has ruined, and on that account claims and receives the admiration of his brother rakes! Well may it be said, "God is long-suffering" and "slow to anger;" otherwise these wretches would long since have been swept from the earth.

The miserable state of the females referred to, has not escaped the attention of the benevolent, and penitentiaries have been established. But it would be still better, if besides providing a refuge for the victims of this vice, some preventive to the crime, could be suggested. Of course the only effectual bar to the indulgence of criminal, and as we have seen, destroying passions, is *moral principle*, grounded on the declarations of Christianity, respecting rewards and punishments; but at the same time, several precautions might be adopted,

which would be of considerable service, and which are within the reach of individual exertion, such as keeping away from young persons the contamination of evil books and associates, and avoiding the fashionable, but certainly most corrupting practice of speaking on indelicate subjects by innuendos and ambiguous expressions. And those who are in any manner placed as superintendants over youth, would do well to beware of this conversation in their presence; for if thus impure words and wicked jests should be the means of corrupting a youthful mind, they will not only be responsible for this, but perhaps an accumulating mass of crime of generations yet unborn.

If, Sir, you should think these hasty observations worthy a place in the *Moral Reformer*, or if you would notice this subject in any other way calculated to do good, the writer will be gratified.

Liverpool, Feb. 9, 1832.

X.

The subject of the above letter is very important; and the reflections it contains have often impressed my mind, when observing so many of these unfortunate beings seeking to catch the unwary in the streets of that fashionable town, whence it is dated. If I were to tell the Clergy where they are deficient, I would point to the streets referred to in the above, and insist upon its being *their duty* to visit *every house* and *every hotel* in them. What was it that gave Jesus an opportunity of observing on one occasion that "the publicans and harlots entered into the kingdom of God before the Pharisees," but the practise of visiting *all sorts* of places where wickedness abounded? This his ministers ought implicitly to follow. EDIT.

To the Editor of the Moral Reformer.

SIR,

Can you inform me why a person doing business for public or benevolent Institutions should always be expected to relinquish his profits? Are bodies of men less able to pay the proper prices than individuals composed of the very same persons? It unfortunately happens that the most part of my business is done with institutions or societies of this sort. Hence I am placed under circumstances of extreme difficulty. My present engagement is of incalculable importance to the cause of education and religion; but then I am expected to live by mere acts of benevolence. I believe I am in this way one of the greatest benefactors in the whole district in which I reside; but nobody thanks me, on the contrary, every one connected with institutions of this kind, would resent any attempt on my part to obtain a reasonable profit. I am sorry to say that the excessive keenness of persons buying for charitable societies or institutions has a strong tendency to alienate my esteem from establishments, towards which my judgment would dictate a very different kind of feeling. I should very much like to see a spirit of uniform and consistent benevolence diffused among those persons to whom is confided the management of our public and charitable institutions. It would be easy to shew, that the stinginess of which I complain, and of which I have much reason to complain, is calculated in the end to defeat the very purpose which it professes to have in view.

NEMO.